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178 of the Paulista,^h the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

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171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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12 Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranaguá, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 43	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Pine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6 - 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6 - 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6 - 10.7	Potassium Chloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Chloride	1.1577

13 The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuipara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] 14 These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

15 Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

16 Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

17 One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] 18 Thus this part of Brasil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[174] 19 According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a Cw (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

20 Gilberto Freyre, Sordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 21 Official data from government weather stations was available
127 for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1914-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

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433 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with
439 Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe
171 and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

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439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.²³ The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.²⁴

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648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

175 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of
648 sugar cane cultivation.

175 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for
169 the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704)
567 reached Bahia, an exodus began.²⁵ Slaves were sold at exorbitant
prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines.
The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in
the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There
was a second exodus.²⁶

175 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the
171 West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles
249 as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which
had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own
production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition
to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these
new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As
newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free
of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which
burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.²⁷

175 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian develop-
178 ments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had
185 been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There
249 was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known,
and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills
continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique,
low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.²⁸

175 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments
249 abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages
178 which it had formerly held in the international market. This
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128 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of
241 the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is
311 high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very
e [17] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India, or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

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• [191] their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

249 The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure—the agent.
442 With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to
438 the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers
452 via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants
455 a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season; and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by means of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
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[491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Frazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
492 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
492 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primitive
198 and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Água
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the ciudades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the

492 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost

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• [191] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

258 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of
407 the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the
manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It
is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder
which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The
crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where
small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the
appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed
log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices
[40] are expelled through the holes in the sides and bottom. The necessary
force is applied by means of a long lever drawn down with a large
wooden screw jack. After the lid is forced downward as far as possible,
the pressure is maintained until there is no perceptible leakage of

258 poisonous juices. In none of the mills observed in the area or described
[70] in the literature of the Recôncavo was the leaching process used, as
is the practice in some other areas of Brazil. From the press the
manioc is thrown upon the top of an earthenware stove where it is
agitated until the remaining manihotoxine is volatilized and the flour
is dry. The juices which have been expelled from the press usually
are caught in flat pans which are then placed in the sun. Settling
and evaporation produce a pasty residue of starch--tapioca--which is
dried into thin sheets.

These mills are small, one-press operations carried on in
enclosed adobe and thatch sheds. They are scattered over the country-
side wherever manioc is grown. The 1940 census enumerated 200 casas
de farinha in the Recôncavo, but the number must now be a good deal
greater. In 1940 Cruz das Almas, according to the census, had no
farinha mills, but in 1953 more than a dozen were observed. The number
of mills is large not only because the capacity of each is limited

3. History of the Rural Area

THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slave-ers, and the colonial governors.

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

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total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots.

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer.

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form.

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
 563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
 794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetich
 (171) cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
 (177) described by various authors. [8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
 (172) known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
 Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
 are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
 to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
 to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
 god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
 ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
 (776) innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
 Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanjá being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
 while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
 (782) Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
 (226) must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
 who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
 the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
 publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
 many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
 support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
 is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
 secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
 classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
 that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
 racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
 as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
 even a white *pai de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
 lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
 555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
 without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
 (463) trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
 (872) well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
 write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
 (873) and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
 were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
 schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
 walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
 that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
 565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
 872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

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The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"⁴ or simply "a personal enemy."

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⁴ Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Félte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nós pretos" (We blacks).

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nection also, the report by Felte Bezerra (1950:266-67) of the bewilderment of several colored girls at Aracaju upon seeing a film concerned with the racial situation in the United States. Wagley is seeking to escape from some of the ambiguities involved when he uses the term "social race" (e.g., 1963b:14); and several investigators either begin by using "color" instead of "race," or shift to color in the course of research or in subsequent publications.

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Moreover, as Robert E. Park (3) has pointed out in an illuminating analysis, "race relations . . . are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals *conscious* of these differences." Frazier (1942:469) records that none of the colored persons he interviewed during several months residence in Bahia, in 1940, "regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians." In the United States, "we expect all persons of color to feel a mutual bond," Ruth Landes (1947:60) reminds us; but in Bahia "no such assumption is ever dreamed of." As Gilberto Freyre (1959:144) puts it, the colored man in Brazil can "express himself as a Brazilian and not . . . as an ethnic [racial] and cultural intruder." Several of Austin J. Staley's (1959:82) Brazilian informants "thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice." "As far as actual behavior is concerned," Harris (1964:64) also recognizes, " 'races' do not exist for the Brazilians." In fact, solidarity along racial or even color lines is of so low an order in Bahia and Brazil that those interested in "mobilizing the colored masses" are in despair. Considering these circumstances, as Frazier (1944:255) also has observed, "one may not properly speak of race relations in Brazil" at all.

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⁷ Italics ours.

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121 sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years
 56 and especially in the cities, is changing.

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 * BB That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena,
 121 then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered
 * 56 across the colored continuum, of at least partial and some-
 563 times of considerable African descent, who have escaped
 565 socially (and openly) into the branco category and been
 accepted by brancos;¹⁷ and that we are also dealing with a
 class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne
 out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination¹⁸ which all
 observers note—and which some think either constitutes or
 reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower*
 class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class
 scale.¹⁹ In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference
 to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the
 lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the
 city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos
 live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be
 ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence
 of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our con-
 clusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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¹⁷ If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

¹⁸ It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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 [186] ¹⁹ Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."²⁹ Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier³⁰ has with justice called attention to a measure of

²⁹ Italics ours.

³⁰ *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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BRAZIL SLI

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due: (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local *prêtos*, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.*

* Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both mild and severe*. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.²¹ Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

abused. . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) conversion" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1909], p. 660).

²¹ Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177-78).

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567 slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present
571 themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu sen-
576 hor,"¹⁶ in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master
175 made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary
for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on
a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right
hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the
white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"¹⁷ or simply "Viva!"

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• [171] These forms of etiquette, together with their religious
implications, although they became in time highly conven-
tionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest
possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of in-
tonations of voice and every mood of humor,"¹⁸ still symbol-
ized the recognition on the part of the master of a common
human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes
Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of
masters and servants towards each other."¹⁹

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175 Relationships of this character were undoubtedly ad-
571 vantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of sub-
567 jection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster
says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed
a considerable number of slaves:

These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to
emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change,
several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each,
as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either,
'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!'
and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!'
This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening,
and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave"
(*op. cit.*, p. 196).

¹⁶ "Good night, my master."

¹⁷ "God make thee a saint."

¹⁸ Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

¹⁹ John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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age.⁹ Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.¹⁰

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.¹¹

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."¹² This policy of encouraging unions with na-

⁹ H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

¹⁰ The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883-87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

¹¹ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculanio, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

¹² R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.¹¹

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

¹¹ Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67-68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.¹⁴

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."¹⁵

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.¹⁶ At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.¹⁷

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"¹⁸ into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"¹⁹ already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

¹⁴ See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁶ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁷ E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

¹⁸ See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

¹⁹ See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8-9.

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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.²² In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.²³

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.²⁴

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,²⁵ and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

²² Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio físico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso território (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cósmicos) a descendência de inúmeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborígene."

²⁵ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."⁴⁴ The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

⁴⁴ Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

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 [583] Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."¹⁶ "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *sensalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de cor* were, we are told, not rare.¹⁷

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 • [171] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,¹⁸ often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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 * 563 Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

¹⁶ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

¹⁷ Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

¹⁸ "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES 185

the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

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565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

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554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

CHAPTER IX
OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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OS AFRICANOS

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
 a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171] •
 including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
 certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
 to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
 has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
 forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
 said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
 the *espinhela caída*, or "fallen breastbone," which presum-
 ably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
 the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
 on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
 considered defects common to all men.* However, the per- [744]
 sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
 have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
 the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
 terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
 this section of the Bahian population attempt to control per-
 sonal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
 means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
 favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
 prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
 "evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
 or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompani-
 ment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
 Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed
 or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *felito*
 calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

* "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it,
 even horses, although it may never show up."

OS AFRICANOS

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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacá* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatida* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common." If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."⁴⁰ If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

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I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

"Montoya says ('Manuscrito guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Misões,' *Anuário da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

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"I believe in God, the Father."

[SALVADOR]

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829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners re-
 567 served for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
 182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorpo-
 797 rate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an im-
 important role in the establishment of good relations between races
 in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
 ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
 and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
 colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.

175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
 567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
 797 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
 198 the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
 567 and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
 175 marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
 567 of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian ceme-
 797 teries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
 to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
 lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus com-
 pletely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
 the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concern-
 ing certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
 to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
 to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
 (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
 origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
 fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
 large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

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The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the *finas* Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one *métis*: "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are

• [17] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

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serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white *métisses*.

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For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

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1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/, "Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

[SALVADOR]

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Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

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1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

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"The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

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There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45

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years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who

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will become intimate with me?.... I am black." A mulatto merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations."

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It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man

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practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners."

Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

[SALVADOR]

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to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

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Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."